

Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 219728 TOSEC 260049

NODIS

FOLLOWING MAPUTO 1006 SENT ACTION SECSTATE SEP 3; REPEATED TO
YOU

QUOTE S E C R E T MAPUTO 1006

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR MZ
SUBJECT: KISSINGER VISIT TO AFRICA: POSSIBLE MACHEL MOTIVES FOR
REJECTING VISIT

REF: MAPUTO 1005

1. INFORMATION ON HOW DECISIONS ARE REACHED BY MACHEL AND WITHIN GPRM
IS HARD TO COME BY. IT IS UNLIKELY THAT WORD WILL SOON LEAK AS TO
WHAT

PROMPTED MACHEL, AFTER FIRST IMPLYING INTEREST IN W VISIT BY THE
SECRETARY, TO DECIDE THAT TIME FOR VISIT WAS "INOPPORTUNE." WE
BELIEVE

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RFOLLOWING POINTS, MUTUALLY SUPPORTIVE, FIT THE AVAILABLE EVIDENCE

AND OUR ASSEMENT OF MACHEL, AND OFFER A PRELIMINARY EXPLANATION OF HIS DECISION.

A. MACHEL IS IN LARGE DEGREE A CAPTIVE OF HIS RHETORIC AND IDEOLOGY. SINCE INDEPENDENCE HE HAS ESPOUSED THIRD WORLDS'S MOST RADICAL CAUSES AND HAS ESTABLISHED HIMSELF AS AFRICA'S LEADING CRITIC OF WESTERN (READ US) "IMPERIALISM." LEFTISTS IN HIS OWN GOVERNMENT AS WELL AS FOREIGN ALLIES, SUCH AS SOVIET UNION, REINFORCE THIS RADICALISM. MACHEL REALIZES THAT ANY IDENTIFICATION WITH A USG INITIATIVE WILL TARNISH HIS CHERISHED VANGUARD REPUTATION AMONG THE RADICALS. HE ALSO IS LOATHE TO HAVE THE USG REAP ANY CREDIT FOR BRINGING ABOUT A SETTLEMENT.

B. MACHEL BELIEVES NEGOTIATIONS WITH SMITH ARE FUTILE AND THAT ARMED STRUGGLE IS THE ONLY WAY TO LIBERATE ZIMBABWE AND TO INSTALL REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP THERE. HE FEARS THAT IF EMPHASIS SHIFTS BACK TO NEGOTIATIONS THAT THE MILITARY STRUGGLE WILL LOSE MOMENTUM.

C. BY NOT OPENLY IDENTIFYING WITH USG INITIATIVE, MACHEL MAY BELIEVE HE CAN HAVE IT BOTH WAYS. SHOULD INITIATIVE NOT SUCCEED, HE ALONE AMONG FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS COULD ALLEGE THAT HE OPPOSED THE "IMPERPALIST" SCHEME AND LAY CLAIM TO BE PRINCIPAL LEADER IN ARMED STRUGGLE AGAINST SMITH. SHOULD INITIATIVE SUCCEED, MACHEL MAY STILL CONCLUDE THAT HE HAS AMPLE INFLUENCE THROUGH ZIMBABWE GUERRILLAS ANB NYERERE ON FUTURE COURSE OF EVENTS IN ZIMBABWE. HE MAY ALSO BELIEVE HE RETAINS OPTION OF GETTING ON THE NEGOTIATING BANDWAGON WHEN IT APPEARS MORE LIKELY TO SUCCEED.

D. IN ANY EVENT, MACHEL IX BEING FULLY BRIEFED BY NYERERE AND BELIEVES

NYERERE CAN SERVE AS CHANNEL FOR HIS VIEWS IN TALKS WITH THE SECRETARY.

THIS BEING THE CASE, AND FOR REASONS ENUMERATED IN A, B. AND C ABOVE,

MACHEL MAY BE CONTENT TO HAVE NYERERE SERVE AS SPOKESMAN FOR HIS VIEWS.

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2. WHILE OUR ANALYSIS INDICATES THERE ARE STRONG PRESSURES OPERATING ON MACHEL NOT TO ASSOCIATE HIMSELF WITH USG INITIATIVE, WE DO NOT BELIEVE HE WILL OPENLY OPPOSE USG EFFORT SO LONG AS NYERERE AND KAUNDA ARE ENGAGED IN DIALOGUE WITH USG. MACHEL MAY EVEN BE PREPARED TO SUPPORT PRIVATELY (PERHAPS FOR HIS OWN PURPOSES) SOME OF THE ELEMENTS OF USG INITIATIVE, AS HE APPEARS TO BE DOING NOW IN CONCERTED ATTEMPT WITH NYERERE AND KAUNDA TO UNIFY ZIMBABWEAN

LEADERSHIP FACTIONS. AT THE SAME TIME, WE BELIEVE HE WILL PROTECT
HIS POSITION AS A RADICAL BY CHAMPIONING THE ARMED STRUGGLE AND
BY CONTINUING TO ALLOW HIS LEFTIST PRESS TO CHALLENGE USG MOTIVES
AND TO CARRY SOVIET ATTACKS ON OUR EFFORT. DE PREE UNQUOTE
ROBINSON

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